

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 VIENNA 02757 01 OF 02 051145 Z

11

ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AECE-00 ACDA-19

OMB-01 RSR-01 INRE-00 AEC-11 /155 W
----- 115540

P R 051042 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8339

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 2757

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

ALL OTHER MBFR CAPITALS BY POUCH

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJEC: 4 APRIL AD HOC GROUP MEETING - BILATERAL CONTACTS

HIGHLIGHTS SENT SEPTTEL.

THE FOLLOWING BILATERAL CONTACTS WERE REPORTED DURING THE 4
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SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 02757 01 OF 02 051145 Z

APRIL AD HOC GROUP MEETING.

1. TURKEY/ USSR - THE TURKISH REP (TULUMEN) REPORTED THAT KHLESTOV TOLD HIM IN THE COURSE OF A LENGTHY CONVERSATION DURING THE RECEPTION FOR THE 19 DELEGATIONS HOSTED BY THE GDR ON 3 APRIL THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD ON THE NEXT DAY PROPOSE AN " ENLARGEMENT FORMULA" TO BE PLACED IN THE PARTICIPATION SECTION OF A PROCEDURES PAPER. THE TURKISH REP SAID THAT KHLESTOV TOLD HIM THE SOVIETS DID NOT LIKE THE IDEA OF UNILATERAL WESTERN STATEMENTS ON THE QUESTION OF HUNGARY' S STATUS. HOWEVER, KHLESTOV HINTED THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT ACCEPT UNILATERAL WESTERN STATEMENTS PROVIDED THAT HUNGARY BE INCLUDED IN THE CATEGORY OF SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS.
2. FRG/ GDR - THE FRG REP (HOFFMAN) REPORTED THAT DURING THE 3 APRIL RECEPTION BRIE AND ERNEST APPEARED TO BE QUITE PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF SETTling THE QUESTION OF HUNGARY' S STATUS BEFORE EASTER. THEREFORE, THEY FAVORED A RECESS OF A WEEK AROUND EASTER.
3. THE GDR REPS QUESTIONED WHETHER THE FRG WAS OPPOSED TO REDUCING ITS FORCES IN A FIRST ROUND OF TROOP CUTS. THEY SAID THAT THE GDR WAS OPPOSED TO " STATIONED- ONLY" REDUCTIONS BECAUSE ITS SECURITY DEPENDS MORE HEAVILY ON THE PRESENCE OF STATIONED FORCES THAN DOES THAT OF THE FRG.
4. THE GDR REPS ALSO DREW ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT WHILE MBFR MAY NOT BIND ONLY THE FRG IN LEGAL TERMS, IN EFFECT THE FRG WOULD BE SINGLED OUT BECAUSE TTE TERRITORY OF THE FRG WOULD COMPRISE BY FAR THE GREATEST PART OF TTE AREA INVOLVED ON THE WESTERN SIDE. FINALLY, BRIE AND ERNST SAID THE GDR WAS OPPOSED TO THE IDEA THAT CONSTRAINTS SHOULD PLAY A LARGE ROLE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON FORCE REDUCTIONS.
5. CANADA/ ROMANIA - THE CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) REPORTED THAT DURING THE 3 APRIL RECEPTION, THE ROMANIAN REP (POPESCU) OPINED THAT THE SOVIETS WERE DELIBERATELY STALLING IN VIENNA BECAUSE THEY WERE DISSATISFIED WITH THE LACK OF PROGRESS IN CSCE TALKS. THIS FACT, SAID THE ROMANIAN REP, INDICATES THAT THE SOVIETS LINK MBFR AND CSCE THOUGH THEY CLAIM THEY OPPOSE SUCH LINKAGE.

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PAGE 03 VIENNA 02757 01 OF 02 051145 Z

6. CANADA/ USSR - THE CANADIAN REP ALSO REPORTED ON HIS CONVERSA-

TION WITH KVITSINSKY DURINO THE 3 APRIL RECEPTION. KVITSINSKY
SAID THAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS WERE FIRM AND WOULD NOT BE CHANGED
ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EQUALITY BETWEEN THE TREATMENT GI
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PAGE 01 VIENNA 02757 02 OF 02 051159 Z

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NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AECE-00 ACDA-19

OMB-01 AEC-11 RSR-01 INRE-00 /155 W
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P R 051042 Z APR 73
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8340
INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO
USNMR SHAPE
USLOSACLANT
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USDEL SALT TWO II
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 2757

BEGIN TEXT:

A. IN THE COURSE OF TWO RECENT SOCIAL ENCOUNTERS WITH SOVIET
REP KVITSINSKIY, IN WHICH LATTER COVERED THE GROUND ALREADY
COVERED IN THE QUADRILATERAL MEETINGS, KVITSINSKIY ALSO SAID
THAT HE WOULD SOON HAVE SOMETHING INTERESTING AND AUTHORI-
TATIVE TO PASS ALONG, IMPLYING THAT HE EXPECTED TO RECEIVE
FORMAL INSTRUCTIONS FROM MOSCOW ON THE HUNGARIAN ISSUE.
KVITSINSKIY REQUESTED US REP NOT TO PASS THIS FURTHER UNTIL
MORE DEFINITIVE INSTRUCTIONS ARRIVED SO AS NOT TO SPREAD
RUMORS WHICH MIGHT BE EMBARRASSING FOR SOVIETS IN THE LIGHT
OF THE FACT THAT SECURITY IN VIENNA WAS LIKE A SIEVE. US REP
MET WITH KVITSINSKIY AT LATTER'S REQUEST APRIL 3. KVITSINSKIY
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PAGE 02 VIENNA 02757 02 OF 02 051159 Z

INDICATED SOVIETS HAD NOW RECEIVED FROM MOSCOW INSTRUCTIONS WHICH ENVISAGED A PROCEDURES PAPER ROUGHLY ALONG THE LINES OF THE ALLIED PAPER OF FEB. 8, BUT WITH HUNGARY IN CATEGORY OF SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS AND AN ENLARGEMENT CLAUSE. THE TEXT OF THE LATTER WOULD BE BASED BOTH ON EASTERN PRESENTATIONS AND WESTERN COMMENTS ON THIS SUBJECT IN THE QUADRILATERAL GROUP AND WOULD INCLUDE CONCEPTS OF PARTICIPATION AT REQUEST OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, DECISION OF THE STATE CONCERNED, POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION IN AGREEMENTS AS WELL AS DECISIONS, WITH A REF TO THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR BOTH SIDES. KVITSINSKIY SAID SOVIET IDEAS FOR PROCEDURES PAPER ALSO INCLUDED EXPANSION OF DEFINITION OF DIRECT PARTICIPATION TO COVER SOVIET IDEA THAT THEY WERE POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS IN FORCE REDUCTIONS, CHANGE OF CHAIRMANSHIP PARA TO PROVIDE FOR ALPHABETICAL ORDER AMONG DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WITH FIRST CHAIRMAN DRAWN BY LOT, AND COMPRESSION OF PARAS 5 AND 6 TO REMOVE THE LIMITATIONS ON SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS AS REGARDS SPEAKING RIGHTS. SOVIETS WOULD ALSO OPPOSE DESIGNATION OF FRG AS "GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF" IN LIST OF PARTICIPANTS.

B. US REP SAID THAT THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY WERE CONTINUING TO FOLLOW THEIR PRACTICE OF ADVANCING ONE OF THE TWO POLES OF OPPOSING ARGUMENTS AND CALLING IT A COMPROMISE. A REALLY NEUTRAL SOLUTION OF THE STATUS OF HUNGARY WAS NECESSARY. WITH REGARD TO PROPOSED ENLARGEMENT FORMULAN US REP SAID THAT NOT ALL ALLIES SAW ANY REAL NEED FOR SUCH A FORMULA. SOME DID NOT LIKE IT AT ALL, AND MANY CONSIDERED THAT IT WOULD, IN ADDITION, CREATE FRICTION WITH FRANCE, WHICH HAD MADE ITS POSITION ON THIS SUBJECT CLEAR. KVITSINSKIY SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE FRENCH WOULD TAKE A NEGATIVE VIEW OF THE PRESENT LANGUAGE.

C. US REP POINTED OUT THAT THE PROPOSED COMPRESSION OF PARAS 5 AND 6 BLURRED THE DISTINCTION CONTAINED IN THE ALLIED PAPER OF FEB 8 BETWEEN DIRECT AND SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS. KVITSINSKIY POINTED OUT THAT THIS DISTINCTION WA CLEARLY SYMBOLIZED BY CONFINING THE CHAIRMANSHIP TO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. US REP TOLD KVITSINSKIY, WITH PARTICULAR REGARD TO SOVIET DESIRE TO LIST HUNGARY AS A SPECIAL PARTICIPANT, THAT IN HIS ESTIMATION THE OVERALL SOVIET PROPOSAL WOULD NOT PROVE ACCEPTABLE. KVITSINSKIY SAID THAT THIS WAS THE SOVIET POSITION.

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PAGE 03 VIENNA 02757 02 OF 02 051159 Z

D. US REP POINTED OUT WITH REGARD TO SOVIET DESIRES TO EXPAND THE DEFINITION OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS THAT THIS WOULD ANTICIPATE LATER DISCUSSION ON AGENDA AS REGARDS DESIGNATION OF SUBJECT MATTER AT PENDING NEGOTIATIONS, AND HE WARNED AGAINST PUSHING THIS POINT FURTHER. US REP ASKED WHETHER THE SOVIETS WOULD BE READY TO INCLUDE A PARA CARRYING OVER TO NEGOTIATIONS PARTICIPATION ARRANGEMENTS WHICH MIGHT BE AGREED ON IN THIS SESSION, AS HAD BEEN SUGGESTED BY THE NETHERLANDS REP IN THE MARCH 13 SESSION WITH THE SOVIETS AND HUNGARIANS. KVITSINSKIY INDICATED THE SOVIETS MIGHT BE WILLING TO HAVE SOME LANGUAGE SHOWING THAT THE PRESENT PATTERN OF PARTICIPATION MIGHT BE CARRIED OVER TO NEGOTIATIONS BUT THEY WOULD NOT WANT TO MAKE THIS EXCLUSIVE BECAUSE THEY WISHED TO LEAVE OPEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT ADDITIONAL STATES MIGHT BE INVITED AS SIMPLE OBSERVERS.

E. US REP ASKED KVITSINSKIY ABOUT MOSCOW REACTION TO COMPLEMENTARY UNILATRAL STATEMENTS WHOSE MAIN CONCEPTS HAD BEEN DEVELOPED IN RECENT QUADRILATERAL MEETINGS. KVITSINSKIY SAID HE HAD SENT IN A POSSIBLE TEXT BASED ON CONCEPTS ADVANCED BY ALLIED REPS IN THOSE MEETINGS. THE FIRST REACTION HAD BEEN HIGHLY NEGATIVE.

F. US REP ASKED IF THIS WAS THE FINAL RESPONSE. KVITSINSKIY'S REPLY WAS EVASIVE. HE SAID IF THERE WAS AN ALLIED STATEMENT, THE HUNGARIANS MIGHT WISH TO REPLY WITH A STATEMENT THAT THEY MIGHT BE READY TO PARTICIPATE BUT ONLY IF ITALY SHOULD DO SO. US REP SAID THIS WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE.

G. US REP SAID SOVIETS SHOULD NOT TRY TO DEVIATE FROM NOMENCLATURE USED AT HELSINKI, WHERE FRG WAS LISTED AS " ALLEMAGNE." HE POINTED OUT THIS WAS THE VIEW OF ALL THE ALLIES. END TEXT

12. ALLED REPS INDICATED AGREEMENT THAT THESE POINTS HAD BEEN COVERED IN NETHERLANDS- US SESSIONS WITH HUNGARIANS EARLIER THAT DAY AND GROUP TURNED TO ANALYSIS OF REPORT OF THAT SESSION. HUMES

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